1: Burrows--111
116, 422, 431, 462

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Another approach to private property is handiwork, or some of it. Coarser baskets are made by either sex, and readily given or thrown away. If one is used more than once, it belongs to the person using it. If someone else wants one not in use, there is no hesitation about asking for it, or giving it. Finer baskets are made by women only, commonly for some man or boy of their household, or as a present to a lover. Once given, they become individual property, and are not readily given away."

1: Burrows--111 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 301, 431, 422 Ifalik

"Flower garlands, for the brief duration of their beauty or fragrance, follow a somewhat special pattern. A large part of the total is made for offering to the gods. Others are made for wearing by the maker. Still others are made by women for men, whether sons, husbands, or lovers. An offering of a garland to another is a common friendly gesture. As guests of the island, we received them almost daily. But there are limits to the giving even of a garland. In one of the love songs collected, a woman complains bitterly that her lover has given the flowers she made for him to another woman."

1: Burrows--125 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 431, 764 Ifalik

"Most other exchanges of property consist of gifts appropriate to special occasions. Conspicuous among such occasions for giving is a death. Women bring cloths and mats to adorn the body and wrap it up for burial. Men bring coils of rope. These gifts involve association, exceptional in Ifalik, between material goods and honor. Cloths, mats, and rope are offered partly for use, partly as tokens of respect and grief. Consequently, the bulkier the wrappings of the body, the greater the honor accorded the dead.

A feeling for moderation in this respect was shown by the chief Toromānn during the preparations for burial of his colleague Paliuilimar. Toromānn decided at a certain point that enough cloths had been used to wrap the body, and redistributed a few as a surplus. As far as I could make out, these were not--at least, not all--returned to the givers. But they may well have been given to households which had made particularly lavish contributions.

For four days after a death, the closest relatives, in token of mourning, must abstain from all work, even preparation of food. This calls for gifts of another kind. Relatives and neighbors prepare extra food during this period and bring it to the bereaved household. These gifts are not repaid or returned directly. But in the long run all such giving is reciprocal. That is, gifts received by a mourning household amount to reciprocation for gifts it has contributed or will contribute to other households when their time of mourning comes."

1: Burrows--126 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 431, 796, 828, 152 Ifalik

"Gifts are expected from the chiefs on certain public occasions. Other men of prominence may also offer them. Commonest of the occasions are religious assemblages, when the gods are invoked in song and dance. Any of the chiefs may walk along in back of the rows of dancers, holding in his right hand, high and away from the body, some small present. A piece of native plug tobacco is the commonest. At this time all the people are seated. Anyone near enough and bold enough may spring up, snatch the gift from the hand of the chief, and return to his seat. Boys are the most eager takers, but older men may spring up too. Women never do. Apparently that much audacity would not be considered becoming to them.

Not all the chiefs take part in this giving. I can recall seeing WolpaitIk only on the receiving end. This is not necessarily a sign of greed. He was the youngest of the chiefs, both in years and in length of service, and may have been more comfortable in the humbler role. Yet the fattest man on the atoll can not be absolved from all suspicion of greed.

Paliuilimar, too, only sat and looked on. Probably that was because of age and weakness, for at other times he was a ready giver. Once when a group of young men were going about the island at night, singing to exorcise an evil spirit, they called on Paliuilimar at his house early in the proceedings. The old chief appeared in the doorway, holding a particularly large piece of the usual plug tobacco. This was a gift to reward the pious endeavors of the young men and their leader Gargeligar, oracle of the high

gods.

Wolpetau, the highest chief, seemed to be the most lavish giver. Once he distributed tobacco among the women at the close of a public meeting held for purposes of government rather than religion. This time he did not hold up the tobacco to be snatched from his hand, but passed among them where they sat and handed it out without requiring them to stand up for it."

1: Burrows--126
116, 585, 431

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Absence of any exchange or distribution of gifts on the occasion of a marriage is part of one of the most conspicuous gaps in the culture of Ifalik, --the lack of any rite of passage to solemnize this occasion. One way of saying it is that, while there are marriages in Ifalik, there are no weddings."

1: Burrows--126
116, 431, 597

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"Adoption, we
child to those wh
an obligation of t
child already be
ment for the chil
of milk to make
does confer an o
price. These ob
of our culture.
is expected to co
good will."

have seen, does involve gifts of food from the parents who receive the
o give it. Tom's way of telling it made it a more individual affair, --
he adopting father to the biological mother, just after the birth of a
spoken for adoption. Characteristically, this is not thought of as pay-
d, but only as a contribution to the mother, so that she may have plenty
the child grow and thrive. The gift of a child, like any gift in Ifalik,
bligation; but not one that can be liquidated by payment of a specified
ligations are more like the social obligations than the economic ones
No one transaction can be final. Each is a step in a relationship that
ntinue, and one of the principal motives involved is the maintenance of

1: Burrows--126-127 (1947-48) Woleaians
116, 565, 431, 152 Ifalik

"....public giving by commoners, while permitted by custom, is infrequent. It is hard to tell whether this is because few of them have tobacco [127] or similar gifts to spare, or because less generosity is expected of them, or because they would feel it presumptuous to act in such a conspicuous and lordly way. All of those motives may be involved. One of the few who attempted it, in our experience, was Tom, always avid for glory. One of my motion pictures shows him unreeling a gauze bandage, which a young fellow eagerly gathered in. They had no thought of sanitation; presumably the lad planned to decorate his head or arms with strips of the white cloth.

On the surface these are one-way transactions. Yet my impression, which I can not substantiate rigorously, is that in the long run they too are reciprocal. The obligation involved seems to be that expressed in the adage: Noblesse oblige. If that is the case, the consideration for the gifts would be the dignity and authority accorded the chiefs. It is characteristic of the free and easy kind of exchange prevalent in Ifalik that the natives seem to make no connection between the two. To them the high position of the chief is part of the natural order of things. Generous giving, to be sure, is chiefly behavior, part of a chief's expected role. But it seems not to be thought of as payment for the privileges of rank; rather as pure kindness on the chief's part, and pure gain to the people. It is only to a foreign observer that the two seem reciprocal."

12: Lutke--132
116, 177, 431

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

I gave him [AN: chief Alaberto] everything that I thought he could use; among other items a cask to conserve water, and a pocket compass; he understood the use of this in a second, and he held it in his hands as if it were really a treasure.

28:.Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1-1
116, 431 Ifalik

"But these trips [WPM: see pp. 12-13] also further international trade, which is important, though not vital for the native economy. Ifaluk, as we shall see, has no division of labor, each household being a self-sufficient economic unit. Yet, the island as a whole practices a certain division of labor vis a vis the other islands, and their surpluses are exchanged. The two commodities which it obtains from other islands are tobacco and women's shell belts, the former being obtained from Faraulep and the latter from Eauripik, while it exports lavalavas and rope. This trade does not involve any financial transactions, since none of the islands have money economies; nor even barter, in the strict sense of the word, since there is no bargaining nor any concept of fixed value, either intrinsically in the exchanged commodities or in terms of some third object. Hence the only rubric under which this trade falls is gift exchange, though this concept is really an ethnographic classification, rather than a native conceptualizaion. That is, a native traveling to another island, will return with tobacco or belts, obtained usually from friends or relatives, given freely as a gift. When his donor visits Ifaluk, he will give him rope or lavalavs, presumably as a gift, without any formal consideration of the value of the relative exchange. Apparently both parties to the exchange are usually satisfied, because no one could tell me of any case of discord arising from an unsatisfactory exchange.

28: Spiro--13 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-2
116, 431 Ifalik

Gifts are not only given to the individual traveler, but they are given to the chiefs, as well, both by individuals, and by chiefs."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--42 [5] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 431, 592 Ifalik

"Distribution presents no problem of Ifaluk, each household being an economically-autonomous unit, and hence exchange is not necessary. There is inter-atoll trade, as we have already seen, but, as was pointed out, this trade really falls into category of gift-exchange."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence.

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen.

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load.

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained.

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did.

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,